

Message Text

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ORIGIN SAB-01

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 /012 R

66604

DRAFTED BY S/AB:JKARINSHAK

APPROVED BY S/AB:JKARINSHAK

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R 231523Z JAN 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY PANAMA

UNCLAS STATE 015908

FOR AMBASSADOR BUNKER

FOLLOWING SENT SECSTATE WASHDC INFO MOSCOW CAIRO TEL AVIV

DAMASCUS AMMAN JIDDA LONDON GENEVA FROM PARIS 21 JAN 75:

QUOTE UNCLAS PARIS 01777

GENEVA FOR MEPC DEL

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, XF

SUBJECT: SADDAT INTERVIEW IN FRENCH NEWSPAPER

1. THE JANUARY 22 ISSUE OF LE MONDE CARRIES A LONG,
WIDE-RANGING INTERVIEW OF EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT SADDAT BY
CORRESPONDENTS ERIC ROULEAU AND J. P. PERONCEL-HUGOZ.
INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE MOST INTERESTING
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOLLOWS:

2. " ... QUESTION: IS IT TRUE, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT YOU
ARE DEMANDING THE SIMULTANEOUS WITHDRAWAL DURING THE
NEXT THREE MONTHS OF ISRAELI FORCES IN THE SINAI, ON
THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, AND IN THE WEST BANK?

3. ANSWER: YES, BUT I AM PREPARED IF NECESSARY TO
ACCEPT SUCCESSIVE WITHDRAWALS. THE ESSENTIAL FOR US IS
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TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF PEACE. THE SITUATION IN

THE NEAR EAST IS EXPLOSIVE. WE MUST GO VERY QUICKLY;
OTHERWISE THE IRREPARABLE WILL HAPPEN.

4. Q: WHAT ARE YOU ASKING IMMEDIATELY OF ISRAEL?

5. THE RESTITUTION OF MITLA AND GIDI HILLS IN THE
SINAI AS WELL AS THE ABOU - RODEISS OIL FIELDS. THAT
IS A MINIMUM FOR US. I AM HOPING TO RECEIVE A REPLY
ON THIS SUBJECT FROM WASHINGTON AT ANY MOMENT

6. ... Q: CERTAIN PEOPLE REPROACH YOU FOR HAVING TOO
MUCH CONFIDENCE IN MR. KISSINGER.

7. OF ALL THE AMERICAN SECRETARIES OF STATE WITH WHOM
WE HAVE HAD RELATIONS OVER 20 YEARS -- NOTABLY
MESSRS. DULLES, RUSH AND ROGERS -- MR. KISSINGER HAS
SHOWN HIMSELF TO BE THE MOST CLAIRVOYANT, THE MOST
SUBTLE IN HIS JUDGMENTS, AND THE MOST LOYAL MAN. HE
PROMISES ONLY WHAT HE CAN DELIVER. HE HAS RESPECTED
ALL HIS ENGAGEMENTS TO US. IT IS TRUE THAT THE
WATERGATE AFFAIR, THE INTERNAL CRISES IN THE U.S. HAVE
SLOWED DOWN HIS EFFORTS FOR PEACE, BUT I AM CERTAIN THAT
HE WILL NOT DISAPPOINT US. HOWEVER, EVEN SUPPOSING
THAT HENRY IS NOT THE MAN THAT I HAVE JUST DESCRIBED,
DO YOU THINK THAT WE HAVE ANY
OTHER ALTERNATIVE TO
AMERICAN MEDIATION? I DO NOT SAY THAT THE USSR HAS
NO ROLE TO PLAY BUT IT MUST BE ADMITTED THAT THE U.S.
HOLDS MOST OF THE TRUMPS, SINCE ISRAEL DEPENDS ENTIRELY
ON IT.

8. Q: DO YOU THEREFORE THINK THAT WASHINGTON IS
IN A POSITION TO EXERCISE PRESSURE ON THE JEWISH STATE?

9. A: CERTAINLY I BELIEVE THAT. BUT WE ARE NOT ASKING
THE AMERICANS TO END THEIR PRIVILEGED RELATIONS WITH THE
ISRAELIS. WE ONLY WISH THAT THEY INTERVENE TO PREVENT
AN EXPLOSION WHICH RISKS LEADING THEM TO CONFRONTATION
WITH THE SOVIETS. DON'T MISUNDERSTAND ME. I HAVE NO
INTENTION OF ENTERING INTO A DISPUTE WITH THE UNITED
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STATES OR ANY OTHER SUPER POWER. I KNOW MY LIMITS. I
SEEK ON THE CONTRARY TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS BOTH WITH
WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW BECAUSE IT IS IN EGYPT'S
INTEREST TO DO SO. IT IS TRUE THAT AT THE
VLADIVOSTOK SUMMIT NESSRS. FORD AND BREZHNEV COULD NOT
AGREE ON THE PROCEDURE TO FOLLOW TO REACH A SOLUTION
IN THE NEAR EAST. THE FORMER IS FAVORABLE TO A STEP BY
STEP SOLUTION WHILE THE SECOND IS INSISTANT THAT THE

WHOLE PROBLEM BE SUBMITTED TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.
FOR MY PART, I DO NOT THINK THAT THE TWO METHODS ARE
CONTRADICTORY. WE SHALL CONTINUE OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH
A VIEW TO RECUPERATING PART OF THE LOST
TERRITORIES AND WE SHALL GO TO GENEVA THE DAY WHEN IT
WILL BE POSSIBLE TO SIGN A DEFINITIVE PEACE SETTLEMENT.

10. Q: HOWEVER, YOUR RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW ARE GETTING
WORSE. WHAT EXACTLY ARE THE DIFFERENCES THAT SEPARATE
YOU FROM YOUR SOVIET ALLIES?

11. A: FIRST, THEY WERE AND REMAIN OPPOSED TO ANY
MILITARY ACTION, EVEN LIMITED, AGAINST ISRAEL. THEY
THUS REFUSE TO DELIVER THE MILITARY MATERIAL WHICH WE
NEED. THUS IN 1971 -- THE YEAR THAT I HAD ANNOUNCED
AS BEING DECISIVE -- THEY KEPT ME FROM OPENING
HOSTILITIES BY A VERY SIMPLE MEANS: THEY FAILED TO

HONOR THE ARMS CONTRACTS WHICH HAD BEEN SIGNED. TODAY,
OUR DIFFERENCES COVER VARIOUS AREAS, MILITARY,
ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL. THEY ACCUSE ME NOTABLY OF
LEADING AN ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGN IN THE NEAR EAST IN
ORDER TO UNDERMINE THEIR POSITIONS IN THE REGION.
HOWEVER, IT IS MY DUTY TO MAKE PUBLIC OUR GRIEVANCES,
TO INFORM THE EGYPTIAN AND OTHER ARAB PEOPLES OF THE
DIFFICULTIES WITH WHICH WE ARE FACED. WHY IS IT
NECESSARY FOR THEM TO TAKE OFFENSE AT CRITICISM WHICH
IS ONLY NATURAL IN RELATIONS BETWEEN ALLIES? THEY
ALSO REPROACH ME FOR OPPOSING THE CONVOCATION OF THE
GENEVA CONFERENCE WHICH IS CONTRARY TO THE TRUTH.

ON THE ECONOMIC PLANE THEY DO NOT GIVE THE MEANS
TO OVERCOME THE EFFECTS OF THE WAR, OF THE DESTRUC-
TION WHICH THE ENEMY INFILCTED ON US, OF WORLD INFLATION.
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LAST YEAR WE HAD TO REPAY 80 MILLION EGYPTIAN POUNDS FOR
THE PARTIAL SETTLEMENT OF THE DEBTS THAT WE HAD
CONTRACTED FOR THE PURCHASE OF ARMS AND HEAVY EQUIPMENT.
THIS YEAR, WE ASKED THEM FOR A TEN YEAR MORITORIUM
SIMILAR TO THE ONE GRANTED TO SYRIA WHILE EXPLAINING
THAT OUR INVESTMENT IN INFRASTRUCTURE DID NOT
ALLOW US TO HONOR THE PAYMENTS SCHEDULE, BUT THEY
TURNED A DEAF EAR, EVEN THOUGH OUR FINANCIAL PROBLEMS
ARE A THOUSAND TIMES WORSE THAN THOSE OF OUR SYRIAN
BROTHERS.

IN THE MILITARY DOMAIN, THEY REFUSED TO REPLACE THE
MATERIAL THAT WE LOST DURING THE OCTOBER WAR OR TO
DELIVER TO US THE SOPHISTICATED, LATE MODEL ARMS THAT
THEY FURNISHED WITHOUT DIFFICULTY TO SYRIA. ISRAEL,
FOR ITS PART, RECEIVED FROM THE U.S. ALL THAT IT

NEEDED TO THE POINT THAT SOME IN WASHINGTON COMPLAINED OF THE FACT THAT THE JEWISH STATE HAD EMPTIED AMERICAN ARSENALS, AND I HAVE ONLY CITED EXAMPLES ILLUSTRATING THE SOVIETS UNFRIENDLY ATTITUDES TOWARD US

12. Q: ... DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE ARAB STATES WILL HAVE RECOURSE TO THE OIL ARM IN THE FORM OF REPRISALS, AND IN SUCH AN EVENTUALITY, WOULD EUROPE BE SPARED?

13. A: I ANSWER YOUR TWO QUESTIONS BY THE AFFIRMATIVE. IT WOULD BE ABSURD TO SANCTION A COUNTRY LIKE FRANCE WHOSE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ISRAELI-ARAB CONFLICT IS OBJECTIVE. IN ANY CASE, WE SHALL BE REASONABLE, AS WE WERE DURING THE OCTOBER WAR WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF STRANGLING THE WESTERN ECONOMY CONTRARY TO WHAT THE AMERICAN LEADERS PRETEND.

14. Q: DO YOU TAKE SERIOUSLY THE THREATS OF MESSRS. FORD AND KISSINGER ABOUT AN EVENTUAL AMERICAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN THE NEAR EAST?

14. A: HENRY WAS WRONG TO USE SUCH LANGUAGE. THE GUN-BOAT DIPLOMACY OF THE 19TH CENTURY IS INCONCEIVABLE IN THE CURRENT WORLD SITUATION. DO YOU RECALL THE SAD END TO THE TRIPARTITE AGGRESSION AGAINST EGYPT IN 1956? DO YOU THINK WE WOULD REMAIN WITH ARMS FOLDED IN THE UNCLASSIFIED

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FACE OF AN AMERICAN MILITARY INTERVENTION? THE U.S. HAS BEEN WARNED: THE ARABS WILL BURN THE PETROLEUM WELLS IF THEY ARE VICTIMS OF AN ARMED AGGRESSION.

15. Q: ISRAEL MAINTAINS THAT IT WILL GO VERY FAR IN ITS CONCESSIONS IF THE ARABS AGREE TO OFFER HER A TOTAL PEACE BY ACCEPTING NOTABLY TO ESTABLISH NORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. WOULD YOU BE READY TO ENVISAGE SUCH A SOLUTION?

16. A: I AM PREPARED TO CONCLUDE A PEACE ACCORD WITH ISRAEL AND TO RESPECT THE ENGAGEMENTS UNDERTAKEN IN SUCH AN ACCORD. HOWEVER, I THINK THAT IT IS STILL TOO SOON TO SPEAK OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND OPEN BORDERS. THE BITTERNESS AND THE HATE ACCUMULATED OVER 26 YEARS OF BLOODY CONFLICT MUST FIRST BE STAMPED OUT. I LEAVE TO THE NEXT GENERATION THE CARE OF DECIDING WHETHER IT IS POSSIBLE NOT ONLY TO CO-EXIST BUT TO COOPERATE WITH THE ISRAELI STATE. EVERYTHING DEPENDS OF COURSE ON ISRAEL'S COMPORTMENT AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE.

17. Q: UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, WOULD YOU BE READY TO GIVE ISRAEL GUARANTEES FOR ITS SECURITY BY FOR EXAMPLE LEAVING THE CONTROL OVER SHARM - EL - SHEIKH?

18. A: SHARM - EL - SHEIKH HAS NO STRATEGIC VALUE AS SHOWN BY THE OCTOBER WAR. WHAT GOOD WOULD IT BE TO OCCUPY SHARM - EL - SHEIKH WHEN THE ARABS ARE ABLE TO CLOSE THE STRAIGHTS OF BAB - EL - MANDEB AT THE SOUTHERN END OF THE RED SEA?

19. Q: WOULD YOU ACCEPT DEMILITARIZATION OF THE SINAI?

20. A: YES, IF ISRAEL AGREES TO AN ANALOGOUS MEASURE ON AN EQUAL PROPORTION OF ITS OWN TERRITORY. BUT BE ASSURED THAT NOTHING IS WORTH INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES TO ASSURE THE SECURITY BOTH OF ISRAEL AND OF ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS. THE UNITED STATES AND THE USSR ARE UNCLASSIFIED

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DISPOSED TO JOINTLY FURNISHING SUCH GUARANTEES WHICH WOULD BE APPROVED BY THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND IF DESIRED, BY THE WHOLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS" RUSH UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, FOREIGN RELATIONS, WAR, INTERVENTION, PRESS CONFERENCES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 JAN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE015908
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JKARINSHAK
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750026-0772
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750126/aaaaawpj.tel
Line Count: 252
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SAB
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: MorefiRH
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <08 MAY 2003 by SilvaL0>; APPROVED <10 NOV 2003 by MorefiRH>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SADDAT INTERVIEW IN FRENCH NEWSPAPER
TAGS: PFOR, XF, US, UR, LE MONDE, (SADAT, ANWAR), (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: PANAMA
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006